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NEENAH, WISCONSIN

Hon. Joseph H. Ball
 Senate Office Bldg.
 Washington, D.C.

COPY November 1, 1944

Dear friend Joe:

Well, now that you have gone and done it, and for reasons which, no doubt, you think good and sufficient, though none of your friends can see it that way, it seems to me that to be fully consistent, you should resign your seat as Republican Senator from the State of Minnesota and then if you want to, run on your own platform, whatever that would develop to be and see if the people decided you were all wet or we are. It is quite beyond me to understand why you have made such a phobia out of either Candidate's position on internationalism.

No one will question Wilson's sincerity when he was spending his life's blood for the League of Nations but history tells you what little effect this eventually had on the action of Congress. It will be the same again. While I do not disagree particularly with your viewpoints on international matters, I feel that you have simply nullified any good you might do for this cause in Congress because you have eliminated the respect of Republicans and you will find no bosom friends among the Democrats.

As I have indicated to you before, I can not understand how you can place so much reliance in the expressions of a man who has been able to accomplish the mental gymnastics that Roosevelt has since 1932. Personally, Wilson was at least sincere in his stand in what he believed but you know as well as I do that the Country is justifiably doubtful as to the sincerity of the present occupant of the White House except to perpetuate himself in office, to which purpose all things are subordinated. To do this, of course, means also perpetuation of the motley crowd that has grown up around him within the last 12 years. Are you now joining that crowd? If ever there was a time our Augean Stables needed cleaning, that time certainly exists in Washington now and while the River Alpheus may not be available to do the job, I do think that a man like Dewey would do it with no apologies to offer. The situation in Washington is worse than it was in Minnesota in 1938 because of its larger and more extensive ramifications.

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Hon. Joseph H. Ball
 (cont'd. p.2)

COPY

You made a good many friends through this part of Wisconsin when you were here speaking for Harold Stassen and I have talked with quite a lot of them and while I can't say that any one is angry with you, they certainly are all grieved that you should have felt compelled to take the steps you have. I don't think you are going to make many votes for Roosevelt or take any away from Dewey. You have simply killed your own influence for the very thing you want to do. I am as far removed from the reactionary die-hard Republican as I am from the New Deal Roosevelt. There is a median between the two that we must follow in our national affairs and I rather presume we will travel that course. Harold Stassen seemed to be able to do that and get places in Minnesota and I can't believe Harold is endorsing your present action. I can't believe that you have gone socialistic and New Dealish and have lost your faith in "America, Unlimited." If we solve our problems at home, making free enterprise work as it should in a country whose people are not slaves of the state-and that is what the people of the United States want, we don't need to worry about some of the other countries whose ideologies we certainly will not follow, and are going to continue to resist being forced upon us even though we might not be successful in doing so this year. It is too bad we can't have your help in doing this but maybe you don't want to help us. How about it?

Sincerely yours,

[19447



UNITED STATES ARMY
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR

Wed. Nov. 1

Dear H.E.S.

Talked to Mary tonight and she read me your letter of Oct 28. Good service. Certainly happy to get the news of the events there. Had read the papers and tried to visualize it and had wanted to know the story a little. Would certainly like to sit in middle of a deal like that.

There is not much to say about the Ball game because I am sure you have all the clippings sent by myself and others and they tell the story as well as I know it. Some of the boys at Burns and others may know some but I am not in touch from here. Have talked frequently to Vic and corresponded with Joe and told them to write so you have the story. Do not know whether you recall but when you were here I told you of a very sharp exchange I had with our friend last spring when he made the specific statement that he would not go along on certain things. No doubt when you visited at home you got that reaction. I never heard that story very fully. I mean of the conversation with at the lake.

Do not yet know where I go from here. Guess Washington.

Do not think any friends could have done anything relative to the above matter.

Have written our friend a couple times recently. Once just before (week or so) to which he replied shortly after, saying he thought no harm was done!! Conversation ~~was~~ (I mean correspondence) has been friendly and I may get more close. If so will write. I made suggestions every place possible after first indication suggesting getting to the situation but rather stiff necked, to h- with attitude coupled with failure to reply seriousness etc. blocked action. Personally even

I do not think anything would have made
difference anyhow when your visit did not.

I have long since come to be very
philosophical and to think that what
happens happens. (altho I ^{for them did well} advised against)

Did you show the Admiral the
clipping I sent indicating what the Japs
are going to do? Put him in the zoo with the
monkeys!

Believe this is a good branch of the
service and enjoyed the school here
altho they have worked us hard, I knew
was much of a student you know but
they had the boys rate who they thought
were the 5 best men etc. and that is
a little like an election and I think I
did all right. Maybe that will null me
through.

Most of the boys here had had
considerable experience in mil. justice
mil. affairs, science and tactics
work reading and all that. They had
been through O.C.S. schools and all
that and it was sort of presumed that
we would know those things so I
discovered here that my army
education has been rather neglected
during my selective service?? duty.

Regards, write some more if
you are in the clear now.

Glenn

"Clover Charlie"

2727 OLIVE STREET
HUNTINGTON PARK, CALIF.

"Good Luck"

1st November, 1944.

Commander Harold Stassen, USN,
Flag Secy. to Adm. Halsey,
3rd US Fleet,
FPO - San Francisco.

My Dear Commander;

Greetings from California.

You've had greetings from California before from me, if you remember. But these go to a man in the service of Uncle Sam and carry everything in the way of best wishes for you that I have to offer.

I hope this small token will bring you much luck.

Yours sincerely,

Chas. E. French

November 2, 1944

Dear H.E.S.

Yours of the 29th reached Esther today, also yours of the 27th reached her yesterday.

I tried to write you as complete a picture of the whole affair as possible. Joe did not see Tom at any time this summer. In my opinion that was one of the personal peevs that he was not invited on gold-engraved stationery to do so. It might have been smart to have done so, but if it had been done the "other half" would have had it peddled all over Washington, and probably what was said and not said.

Joe's trip with Hammagan to see FDR was supposed to be on the basis of Dunbarton Oaks.

He had made up his mind when he reached here what he was going to do, and how he was going to do it. It was cleverly planned. He did have a talk with Foster ~~Dellis~~ in New York. He said at least he thought Foster had the same feeling that he (Joe) had. This I question.

The "better half" has high aspirations for the future. She has made statements like "what about Joe for 1948?", maybe half kidding --probably two-thirds serious. Joe at this time is completely out of the Republican party in Minnesota. I do not believe it necessarily follows that he is impeached forever, but he will have to change his line of thinking, or he will be.

As I have written you, Warren and I have tried to be temperate in our remarks, and I think it has been very helpful. I believe many of the older men are a little embarrassed over the vindictive attitude they took the first two or three days.

Walter Judd gave a wonderful Minnesota radio speech on Tuesday night, and talked to the Ramsey County Republicans afterwards. In a question and answer period someone asked him to comment on Joe Ball. First he said he preferred not to do so. Then he said he would re-consider, and made a statement to the effect that he admired Joe, his conscientiousness and his democracy, that every person has a right to his own beliefs, but that he didn't think Joe had done the right thing. Judd handled it very well. Personally, I believe Judd has made more votes for Dewey the past four or five days than anyone else in Minnesota. I now have a call in for Herb suggesting Judd for a National hook-up before election. I am confident we can raise the money and pay for it here in the Twin Cities. Judd has done a magnificent job, and as I see it now, it is too bad we could not have built him up as our National spokesman. He has balance, lots of good sense, and good judgment.

I had a dinner for Maas Tuesday night before the Judd talk. About twenty men were there, and they were very much impressed with Mel.

It is my opinion Dewey will carry Minnesota if we have a half way decent day. I believe he will show better in St. Paul than Willkie did, but he is very weak on the Range.

*I have
raised
money
11,000*

Dewey talked in Boston last night. His talk was on Communism, and specifically on the subject of "property", of which the Catholics own a great deal.

He got a good hand in many places, and an especially good hand when he spoke of men and women being forced to pay money to Union leaders for political purposes.

It is only a hunch, but I believe he will win. If he doesn't in my opinion it will be because they did not concentrate to a large enough degree on cultivating the independent vote. I told you that in July. Walter Judd, on the phone this morning, agrees 100% with it, and it could have been done very easily without hurting or interfering with the regular Republican party.

I believe I sent you copy of a letter we got out to all alternates and delegates to the Chicago Convention, all Republican officers in every state, a selected list of business men, all county chairmen and chairwomen, and enclosed with it copy of Esther's speech. We mimeographed six thousand copies of it for Rose yesterday, and she is getting it out to all precinct workers.

We got a tremendous press in Wisconsin. Vic Johnston, as you probably know, is handling the Dewey campaign there. He had lunch with me yesterday on his way to Grand Forks to his father's funeral. He told me Esther's talk was very well received, and the letter we addressed to alternates and delegates got a great deal of very favorable newspaper space.

To be specific, the Stassen crowd have made the following recommendations the past week, which have been followed:

1. A mid-westerner to introduce Dewey when he made his farm talk. That was Hickenlooper from Iowa.
2. Esther's broadcast. As I told you, she stole the show.
3. Letter to alternates and delegates, and this morning I am waiting for a call from Brownell regarding a National hook-up for Judd.

Over and above that, Don Dickey has been, as I get it, the outstanding man in the Dewey Chicago office, and I think Vic Johnston's work in Wisconsin will probably carry the state 57 to 43. Warren has made several talks for Dewey around the Twin Cities. At 8 o'clock Friday night, Margaret Culkin Banning is going on the air with an excellent speech, and has written an article for the Sunday New York Herald on "Why People Should Vote for Dewey". Doc Radabaugh pitched as hard as he could under the circumstances. Earl Christmas, and his assistant, Blanche have practically run the Campaign alone. Ed, as I have written you, has gone all out, and is going to need at least a two weeks rest when this is over.

Esther probably wrote you that when they introduced her from the platform, when Dewey spoke, 14,000 people arose as a unit and yelled and applauded, so I guess you are not yet forgotten in Minnesota.

Over and above that, I sent a check for three thousand to the National campaign, which came from our crowd here. Now if they want Judd for a National hook-up, and we pay for that, I would say we have come through with flying colors, as much as possibly could be expected.

To get back to the Ball matter. Ed and I came to the conclusion, after an hour and a half with him, that he had made up his mind to go to the other side. I am enclosing an article which Bill Cunningham wrote. By the way, he is one of your greatest admirers in the country. After reading the article, I called Bill on the phone and gave him the story, and he said he would correct it in the next day's column, and that I should not hesitate to call him anytime a thing of this kind came up.

Also I am enclosing a clipping from the morning paper regarding the Butler Construction Company. It was aired for the first time by Fulton Lewis over the National hook-up. They say there is considerable to it.

Ed will carry the state by about 65 to 35. All the Republican Congressmen should be easily elected.

Latest information is R-43, D-47, 10% undecided, and I believe with all that has been happening the past few days more than half of the 10% will go to Dewey, and he should come out with a minimum of 52 to 48 --again, if the weather is half way decent.

After November 7th we are going to do some thinking, evenings, in a closed room, and with not so many present that it gets broadcast all over town.

As I wrote you a couple days ago, Esther looks swell, and she told me on the phone this morning she is completely happy and satisfied over her decision to make the broadcast. She said she couldn't understand why it took her so long to come out in that frame of mind, and I told her it was probably because I suggested it. She gulped a little on that one.

The weather has been absolutely perfect --clear and 70° every day.

Under separate cover I am enclosing a speech which Dewey gave in Minneapolis.

We still have the "prima domas". If you don't do this, or don't do that, somebody is hurt, and if you never do anything somebody is always hurt. However, I checked the idea of Esther's speech with at least a hundred people, and the letter to alternates and delegates with fully as many.

John and Ben have been most helpful and cooperative with us. They both wrote Esther a note telling her how well she did it, and enclosed pictures that were taken.

I hope you are there long enough to receive this letter.

More of us, including Warren, has heard a word from Joe since he left here some days ago.

I believe I wrote you that most of the newspaper men were quite disgusted with his action.

I question very much if his action will really hurt, to speak of, in Minnesota, because articles like Bill Cunningham's (and there were many of them) will hurt to beat the devil around the country. That was the main reason, of course, for getting out the letter to alternates and delegates.

I have not heard from you since you left here in July, which is all the more proof that you are out of politics.

To summarize: The Ball affair is very serious and very bad, and I can assure you it is being well handled and will continue to be well handled without any vindictiveness on the part of Burger and myself, and I request that you be not upset about it. It probably is not one tenth as bad as it appears to you, being so far away and out of touch with everything.

My very best,

4 November 44

Dear Tom:—

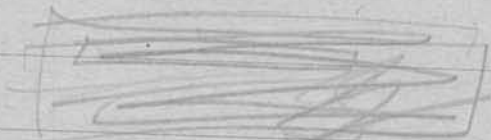
I deeply regret Joe Ball's amazing action. At the time of my brief stop at home in early August I was ~~misleadingly~~ ^{misleadingly} informed that Ed Thye, Joe Ball, Doc Rudebaugh, George Jones ^{Ruby Spencer} and all of my close friends would support you ^{and} were determined to carry ~~me~~ ^{me} with you.

Letters I have received ^{today} indicate that all of the others have redoubled their efforts to carry the state. I hope they are successful. I sent in my own abstract ballot for you on October 6th.


We stopped in at our advance anchorage today for the first time since the 6th of October. ^{My face has been so much improved since then} You know from the daily radio news where we have been. The Jap Navy has been decisively defeated, and unless the natives follow a suicide course, this war will not last much longer.

I am writing directly to Joe Ball to the same effect as

this letter to you. I have not
heard from him since August.



Best of luck to you on
November 7th.



4 November 1944

Dear Joe:

I was amazed to hear on our radio news of the action you had taken to support IOR for a fourth term. My limited information out here had not given me any basis for expecting this public change of position by you.

I hope there is a letter on the mail to me giving the background of your analysis and your decision. I will look forward to a chance to talk it over with you and Betty. I want very much to understand the factors that caused the decision.

We stopped in at an obscure anchorage today for the first time since the 6th of October. We have been at sea continuously since that date. As you know for the press the Jap Navy has been

administered a terrific defeat,
Admiral Halsey did a superb
job of maneuvering the Fleet.
He took bold chances, but
they were carefully calculated
and they paid off. It is
my judgment that the Japanese
now will be able to plan an
effective force at sea again. Unless
they follow a suicidal course as
a nation, this war may end
quite soon.

Our losses were very small
for the results obtained. We do
deeply regret the loss of the ^{three} ~~three~~ ^{three} ~~three~~
little carriers (which has been announced).
The carrier pilots and PT boat crews
did an amazing job.

Write me letter for you all in good health.
Sincerely
Regards

4 November

Dear Ed -

I was amazed to hear of Joe Boll's action in supporting JDR for a fourth term. I had not heard from him since August and had no information of the bases for his decision. I hope if you have ~~heard~~ ^{not already} done so, you will write all information ^{you have} on the subject.

I am writing direct to Joe and to Sam Denney about it.

We stopped in ~~the~~ at an advance anchorage ~~today~~ today for the first time since the 6th of October. We have been at sea continuously since that date. You know for the past where we have been. I think there is little question, but that we have destroyed the Japs Navy. I do not believe they will ever be able to place in effective

force at sea again. Then our force
has also been greatly reduced. The
war has been shortened very much.
In fact, unless the Japanese
follows a suicide course, this war
may end quite soon.

Ed, I certainly was at the
right place at the right time so far
as the war is concerned. I am humbly
thankful. When the chips were
all down out here, the whole series
of hard fast decisions were made
in the Flag Plot of our Flagship.
It is increasingly clear, as the detailed
reports from our various forces come
in, that the greatest naval victory
of all history was won during these
October 23-24-25-26-27 battles.
I do not believe that any other ~~admiral~~
alive would have made the ~~decisions~~
~~of Admiral Halsey~~ that Admiral Halsey
made to result in this sweeping result.
He took some bold chances, and
we deeply regret the loss of the three

Small carriers (which has been assumed)
but the result has been ~~the~~ saving
of many many American lives in this
war. I am proud of the fact that
during this crucial period every available
~~single~~ piece of information was
promptly obtained coordinated and
plotted on our Flag Plot and available
as a basis for decisions. I am extremely
grateful to Admiral Halsey and
Rear Admiral Carmoy for their help in being
made an officer in charge of Flag Plot
and giving me the chance to contribute.
While this is not a secret matter I
do not wish any statements to be made
about it. The only reward I want
out of this war is the personal satisfaction
of knowing I did my part. That reward
I have now. I smile just a bit
~~annually when I think of the scoffing~~
~~of some when I signed up.~~

Ed I hope you have
a sweeping victory on election day
Ed. I hope you receive the highest

note that any governor ever
received in the history of Minnesota.
Then use the prestige that that
will give you for the good of the
people. Do not let the ~~Legislature~~
I know you will not let the
Legislature take any unwise
action or legislation against labor
or in reducing money or
income taxes or in granting any special
favors. The pressure may be
pretty heavy on some of these things,
but do not hesitate to use your
veto power if you must.

Ed, if any further questions
come up I hope you make it clear that
no one is authorized to speak ^{for me} on public
matters ~~for me~~. They never were while I
was on the scene and they are not now. There
are no exceptions.

Sunday morning Nov. 5th, 1944

Dear Harold:

After rummaging around for half an hour I finally found a couple of sheets of paper which have escaped the cyclone which constantly circulates in the person of the twins. All at the Hughes house are well and we are of course grateful for that. Had a good visit with Vi the other day and she is rather perplexed at all the developments. Harold and Iantha were up last week when Harold spoke to the Lutheran meeting. Said he figured he would work both sides of the street while he was here. Miss Elmer on my visits to the cities. He seemed to be a good tonic and could somehow make something look not too bad. The work of the Board gets me to the cities regularly. I continue to enjoy it a great deal and my associations on it. The old man is at least interesting and Ernie is a fine fellow and a man of substantial competence. Did you know Phil Sherman had left for an excellent position with Pillsburys. The State really suffered a loss there. We have all been thinking a great deal of you of late what with the news from the Pacific. The general impression is that you are probably in the middle of the fracas. From the success of the venture I think we are right. You have had the habit of either being responsible or at least being associated with successful ventures. Whatever happens Harold you have the well wishes and prayers of a great many of your old friends, not the least of whom are some of the men at St. John's. While the nature of things prevent your knowing it, it would be a source of real gratification to you to know how many of the old crowd still feel. Only yesterday I got a note from Beryl Sederberg anent this thought. The news of that recent victory surely must be a real blow to the Japs even though the remainder of the road will be a long and a tough battle. I have often been tempted to write another Open Forum letter concerning that swivel chair assignment that was to be yours but on second thought have decided it would serve no good purpose. Nothing is happening in this District this fall since everything was lined up in the Primary to the liking of our Statesman. From all reports Nye may not be returned to the Senate. This man Stambaugh has caused quite a furore even to the extent that Nye is now, in a few carefully selected locations, making world co-operative talks. Judd was here for a luncheon Friday and did a splendid job. After hearing him on the air the other night I called Walter and suggested that they contact the top boys and get him on nationally. He is far and away the most effective man they could present and I do not exclude the candidate. It is my understanding that he is to go nationally tomorrow night although that may be too late to accomplish much. Last night I heard Margaret Culkin from Madison Square Garden. She was a credit to the head of the lakes and the whole movement. She made clear her first preference and then went into a splendid presentation, on a matter of principle, why she could support Dewey. As I listened to her the thought came to me, as it has many times, that you have every right to be proud of the kind of support which has been yours. I am sure Joe's action must be difficult to appraise where the attempt is made without having before you all of the little color and background incidents. Ed has handled it excellently well it seems to me. In effect he has said I do not question the honesty or sincerity but I disagree with his judgment. The violence and vehemence with which his announcement has been received has done far more for Roosevelt's cause than the original break. I guess I just never will get accustomed to hearing people shout without having in mind the particular persons whom they hope to influence. After all it is the independent bloc which holds the balance of power. Just why Barkley should have been a Saint and Joe a sinner is hard for me to see. I am reminded of what I said to you before Joe was appointed, "no one would ever have to ask another man what his position was on a real issue". I still think it an excellent qualification. If a man is wrong the processes of our system will be adequate to the occasion. I am not prepared to say Joe is right but I do not find it in my heart to condemn him for his action. I am positive it is the result of a decision made in what he conceives to be the best interest of America. This is a decidedly disappointing campaign to me. I think I shall vote for Dewey but try as I will I simply cannot develop any enthusiasm. If I sense the feeling aright the people of America are sick at heart. They have, by and large, had all of this administration they want but few are sold on the alternative in a positive sense. Neither side has risen to the majesty of the hour and the people are sick at heart.

In place of a discussion of issues and principles we have been treated to an unsavory serving, from both sides, of name calling, half truths, deception by innuendo, and just plain fench straddling. I see repeated on a grand scale the mistakes of negation which were largely responsible for my own situation two years ago. Willis in keynoting the Kentucky Convention says "Our day of Deliverance is at Hand". I have heard it said that Republicans will win when they deserve to win. Perhaps it is the education along the other line which makes this mess so distasteful to me. The President must be defeated at Worchester because of the threat, seriously advanced, of a monarchy and at Boston that night for the benefit of us Irish Catholics he must be defeated for fear the Communists will take over through the vehicle of Hillman's PAC. No man in American labor has fought the Commies harder or more successfully than has Hillman. There are a lot of bad things about PAC without violating the truth like that. EDIC is really a Republican measure. House Republicans voted 93 to 3 against it. Dumbarton Oaks is a real beginning, in St. Cloud Bricker is delighted with the fact that come January the party will have such "statesmen" as Harold and Hendrik both of whom were present, with whom to counsel. Those performances are not the kind to give a feeling of confidence to a thinking American no matter how dissatisfied he may be with the administration. Perhaps Bismarck was right that Providence does somehow look after "Drunks, fools and America". With the great heritage which is ours it seems a profound tragedy that in this fateful hour of our own and the world's history the leadership which is offered is unable to see the forest for the trees. Surely we cannot forever dissipate opportunities without someday running out of chances to redeem our errors. All this and a great deal more must have been in Joe's mind when he made that jump and so I say, having gone through the same turmoil myself in an effort to find the right course, I cannot find it in my heart to criticize him. Whichever man is elected I hope he brings to his job for the next momentous four years, vision and courage, imagination and judgment and that he be sufficiently humble to recognize man's incompetence, standing alone, to solve the questions which will force themselves upon a tired and vengeful world. Valeria joins me in wishing you well and whatever you do take care of yourself to some degree at least. God be with you.

Sincerely,
Fred

Adm. Commander

Congratulations! Sir, En H.

Wish I could be with you for the funeral till - Don't forget the T Principle we talked about while you were at Great Lakes - altho Don't think you will have another opportunity as I estimate what is left of the Jap Fleet they be concentrated in the North to be used sporadically in the nature of Raiders on our Bases in the Rear and to attack suddenly our long line of communications to the West of Pearl Harbor. - They are too weak to be used as an offensive Fleet now.

After leaving Great Lakes with Convoy Commodore in the Atlantic Mediterranean, Gulf + Caribbean Sea for 18 months which was quite interesting until all the German Subs were bottled up then it became quite dull - Am on duty as asst Port Director San Diego now

when I suppose I'll remain unless I
could get an interesting and
combat assignment which seems
doubtful due to my retirement
status - Nothing Physical - its
just the Police, & the Law.

Best Regards - We are all
following your movements with
much pride, looking forward to
the final day when we all
may recline again in comfortable
peace.

Sincerely

Orin Dillide

asst Post Director

San Diego Calif.

P.S. I shall be glad to hear from
you should you find time
to drop me a line.

Orin

FILE

UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET
THIRD FLEET

Nov. 6, 1944

Dear Harold;

Have planned to write and bring you up to date on developments for many weeks, but things have popped so fast, I never had time to write at any length and did not feel like giving you bulletings. Just reread your of Sept. 27. Rather surmise you have been plenty busy since then, and envy you. The Phillipine show and Naval battle there looked from here like a real milestone toward the finish of Japan.

The campaign here has been rather sickening, in view of all that is at stake and the real problems ahead. The latter have received very little honest discussion from either side. Most of the campaign has been charge and counter-charge and I think a great many people are thoroughly disgusted with both parties I know your truly is.

Suppose you have heard by now that I, after first refusing to campaign for Dewey, finally announced for FDR and made a speech for him on the Blue net work. I am enclosing a speech I gave back home over KSTP Oct. 4, a statement issued Oct. 12, another Oct. 23, and the speech for FDR Oct. 26 which cover the ground. I'll also add my prediction, for good measure. Unless the Catholic hierarchy, scared on the communist bogey, has passed the word down to defeat FDR, the latter will win substantially, and I think by a bigger majority than in 1940, I frankly don't know the answer on the Catholic vote.

Now for a little background. First, I think the frantic efforts of your friends in Minnesota to read me out of the party and make clear that they were 100 percent for Dewey have hurt your future political career, about which I think they are more concerned than you are, more than my rebellion. Most of their reaction, violent, both to my first statement and my declaration for FDR, unfortunately was pitched on a personal abuse basis instead of issues, which was a disservice to you. For my part, I was not concerned with your future, but with America's. I so firmly believe that you will go places on the basis of what you stand for, in spite of regular party and Old guard opposition, and what I say or do will make damn little difference. I have probably weakened the value of my support within the party but strengthened it after a nomination.

As of course you know, I had no idea I would make this move last August. While we nominated Dewey blind as to his position on issues, I had no thought but that he would at least measure up sufficiently so that in contrast to FDR he could be supported. After his Philadelphia speech, I became worried. That was when he first hit the "bring the boys back home" theme. It was vicious and unscrupulous, and showed a complete lack of understanding of the responsibilities he would face as president. His Louisville speech was better, but very weak, and his playing to every peanut gripe in his swing to the west coast worried me more. On top of that, GOP literature reaching the office was disturbing. Sly anti-semiticism, appeals to hate and prejudice were the rule. The communist bogey was being handled so recklessly as to be dangerous for the future.

I went home convinced I could not speak for Dewey because of these facts, plus the straight isolationist appeals being made by Bricker, Clare Luce, Ev Birkens and Warren Atherton, all Republican National Committee speakers on national hookups. I had hoped to avoid a direct statement, but Dunn and Jones had needled the press into putting me on the spot and I got off by the statement quoted in Oct. 4 speech.

The reaction was terrific. Ed Thye made a sane statement. Dunn, Jones Carlson, et al went nuts, read me out of the party and the Cowles Ridder papers

FILE

UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET
THIRD FLEET

joined the chorus. I got some pressure, not to worry, but perhaps got a little irked. Any how, I made the broadcast, which calmed the boys down a bit.

Then discovered when I returned to Washington the national repercussions and determined to try to force more discussion and commitments on foreign policy, hence Oct. 12 statement. Think I succeeded well in that. Dewey ducked the key third question and FDR answered flat yes. Since then Dewey has publicly endorsed Wiley of Wisconsin and Lyons of Illinois, on top of which Republican National Committee bought full page in New York Times for article by Robert Moses taking straight isolationist position on third question. Have no regrets whatever on position and am more convinced than ever Dewey is phoney.

It is my considered conviction that his election would slow end of war three to six months at least and delay international cooperation at least a year, if not kill it for good because of Russian angle. Some day I hope you read a complete file of Dewey's speeches and I know what you will think. He has attempted, instead of presenting a strong program for the future, to prosecute his way to the presidency, and with a dishonest prosecution at that. As you know, I have always had my doubts about him. Now I am convinced he is not only an intellectual peanut, but a very dangerous man whose reckless lust for power is far greater than any other consideration. FDR is not only the lesser of two evils, but beside Dewey, almost achieves greatness.

I made two mistakes. One was in not letting my friends in Minnesota know beforehand. The other was accepting an invitation thru Hopkins FDR Oct. 15. We talked for an hour on Dumbarton Oaks and foreign policy, with no mention of campaign, but the story leaked and gave the smear press a good chance. I should have foreseen that, but was so damned anxious to get one of the two presidential candidates talking on real issues in foreign policy that I forgot it. Needless to say, no one in the Dewey camp ever evinced the slightest interest in my views or position, before or after the statement.

The boys back home put Judd on a national network for a half hour Sunday night obviously in an effort to offset my action. He cracked me, not too badly.

I am very much afraid the new international security organization faces even tougher sledding than the League. That will be the next fight. If the two old parties fumble and botch it in Congress, as may happen, I would not be too surprised to see a third party on that issue in 1946 and 48. Also, yours truly might be in it, I think events will determine whether there is a chance. The issue is big enough if it is made by events.

Incidentally, I took a crack at some of the senatorial contests - Wisconsin and Ill. Might as well be hung for a sheep as a goat.

According to the mail, I'm either a hero or a heel. According to me, I'm still the same guy you talked into this job, only considerably more concerned about the future. Best of luck and God save you from your friends, myself included.

As ever,

Joe

PS. Just a timely reminder of my warning to you at the time you wanted to appoint Joe. I told you I would make a lousy Senatorial wife! Just glance at the McCormick-Hearst papers and you will see my fears justified! Any how I still emphatically believe in both Joe and the Declaration of Independence - also you.

Betty.

1785 Palace Ave.,
St. Paul 5, Minnesota.
November 6, 1944.

Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.,
c/o Staff Commander, Third Fleet,
c/o Fleet Post Office,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Harold:

The Campaign is now ended and I am writing you to pass on my views as I have watched the developments in this Presidential and State campaign.

Dewey started out with a few good constructive talks outlining the program that he would carry out if he were elected president. According to reports, these first speeches fell flat; whether it was the speech or the person that didn't click, I can't say. Anyhow, the tactics were changed, and the speeches that followed were constructed as criticisms of the President and his administration, which finally developed into a tirade against communism with emphasis on Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder in which both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates participated.

Last Thursday evening Dewey brought out the communistic angle again at Boston, no doubt to influence the Catholic vote in the New England States. You hear criticism of this form of campaigning by Republicans who do not believe in this rabble-rousing method of winning votes.

On the whole, I believe the presidential campaign was carried on as effectively as possible here in the State with none of the bickering or fighting among party leaders which ordinarily takes place in campaigns. Literature, however, put out by the Republican party here in some instances has been bad. No effort was made to get the labor vote. There were no labor committees set up either on the national or state basis. The only committee which was active in the State was the Veterans' Committee headed by Pat Cliff and Tess Carlson. Outside of this, I can't recall anything that was done to capture the independent vote.

On Monday, October 23rd. Joe announced his support for Roosevelt and Truman - the same day Truman was in St. Paul to deliver a talk. Truman took advantage of Joe's statement by declaring he knew Joe was really a Democrat all the time although Joe hadn't known it himself. That same day also, Davenport came out for President Roosevelt. You can see where both of these moves coming at the same time complicated matters as far as you were concerned. The Republicans were boiling mad. Joe's statement, coming just the day before Dewey's visit, threatened to put a damper on the anticipated enthusiastic reception for him, but as it worked out, everything went along fine.

About 14,000 attended Dewey's talk in Minneapolis. He received a fine reception from the crowd with the Governor going all out for him both in the

HES: 2

November 6, 1944.

evening and in the meetings with various groups during the day. His people who traveled with him I believe were sold on the fact that the Stassen supporters here were for him in every way. When Mrs. Stassen was introduced she received a fine STANDING ovation, the only one accorded this courtesy except Mrs. Dewey.

According to the poll, Dewey was weaker than Willkie when he started out. He has picked up though until now I believe he has reached about the same stage as Willkie at this time. However, unless he can pick up enough votes from the undecided column, which at this time still is 10% of the vote here in the state, I am afraid he will come out on the losing end with the race so close at this time that unpredictable factors such as the weather and the soldier vote could tip it one way or the other.

Our poll in the State shows Dewey ahead 47% to 43% with 10% undecided. There was a spot check made in four counties: the Seventh Ward in St. Paul, the Thirteenth Ward in Minneapolis, Stearns and Steele Counties. This showed Roosevelt losing support in Steele and the Thirteenth Ward in Minneapolis, but picking up 5% in Stearns County and 9% in the Seventh Ward in St. Paul. The net results show very little change from the 1940 vote. My prediction is that Roosevelt will carry this state in about the same proportion as he did in 1940.

With this State having all Republican Congressmen and elected officials, and the opposition state ticket very weak, especially Allen who has not been able to help the President at all, I believe that Dewey should have been able to place our State in the Republican column. This election in the Republican voting seems to be shaping up more into an anti-Roosevelt than a pro-Dewey vote.

Dewey's press relations have been bad. The press boys are not very well impressed with him and his actions antagonize them. This reaction I have gotten from two or three newspaper men.

I have talked to people who listened to Mrs. Stassen's radio talk for Dewey last week. They all commended her highly for her very constructive and convincing talk coupled with a very fine delivery.

Judd has come to the forefront by his talks for Dewey in which he also helped you by referring to his stand as a supporter of yours before the Convention.

Joe's statement I do not think has had much effect on the State here itself although I feel that it has hurt Dewey's cause in the Eastern and New England states. Efforts have been made to try to rectify conditions brought on by it here. After he declared himself for Roosevelt and Truman, he released a statement to the effect that he had talked to Harry Hopkins and Roosevelt for an hour. You can readily visualize the thinking of all Republicans and those who believed Ball was sincere, began to wonder if he really was so sincere and honest. The Democratic National Committee has furnished considerable radio time for him, during which he has praised Truman who had been a complete flop in the campaign picture. An article came out of New York stating that part of one of his broadcasts had been paid for by some garment union; the sequence of events had made many people speculate on what Joe's purpose is in doing these things.

The damage Joe has done to you will be hard to overcome but I feel that this experience will be valuable to you in the future. I am confident that with

HES:3

November 6, 1944.

your ability when you get back here the Republicans will be looking for someone to bring them victory..

Really the only one who benefited was Shipstead, who with his own election only two years away, has come out with several radio talks for Dewey, thus cementing himself with the group he had yet to win over in the State. He has confined his remarks to a recital of the charge that Dewey is the man to clean up the mess that Roosevelt has created, and has remained entirely silent about foreign policy.

The Democrats have made capital of the isolationist Senators who have come out for Dewey, including Senator Shipstead. Inasmuch as Dewey did not repudiate any of these people, nor the Chicago Tribune, they really have put in some punches that have hurt him. There are many Republicans who are not entirely sold on Dewey's weak statement of Foreign policy but who will support him anyway because of their dislike for the President. Then there are Republicans who are just as bitter against Dewey.

Through all of this, the campaign for Governor has been overshadowed. The election results will show Ed winning by a large majority.

Bricker came to Minnesota and was well received getting a good audience everywhere he talked. In the course of his talk here in St. Paul, he mentioned your name at least four or five times in a complimentary way; he also referred to your successor, Governor Thye, as being an outstanding Governor. In his concluding remarks he mentioned Tom Dewey's name. From St. Paul he went to St. Cloud, then he proceeded on to Duluth where he met practically all of the party people in that vicinity. I concluded he was out campaigning for himself in 1948.

Congratulations on the smashing victory that our boys won at Leyte. I know you are in that vicinity, so give the enemy hell!

If there is anything of importance or interest that I feel you would like to know, I will advise you.

Your friend,

P J

P.S. It is now 3:30 P. M. the day before election. It is very cloudy with prospects of snow, sleet and rain for tomorrow. "I planned it that way", - FDR.



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